The Interparliamentary Umon

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ITS WORK,

AND

ITS PRESENT ORGANIZATION.

Published by the Interparliamentary Bureau.

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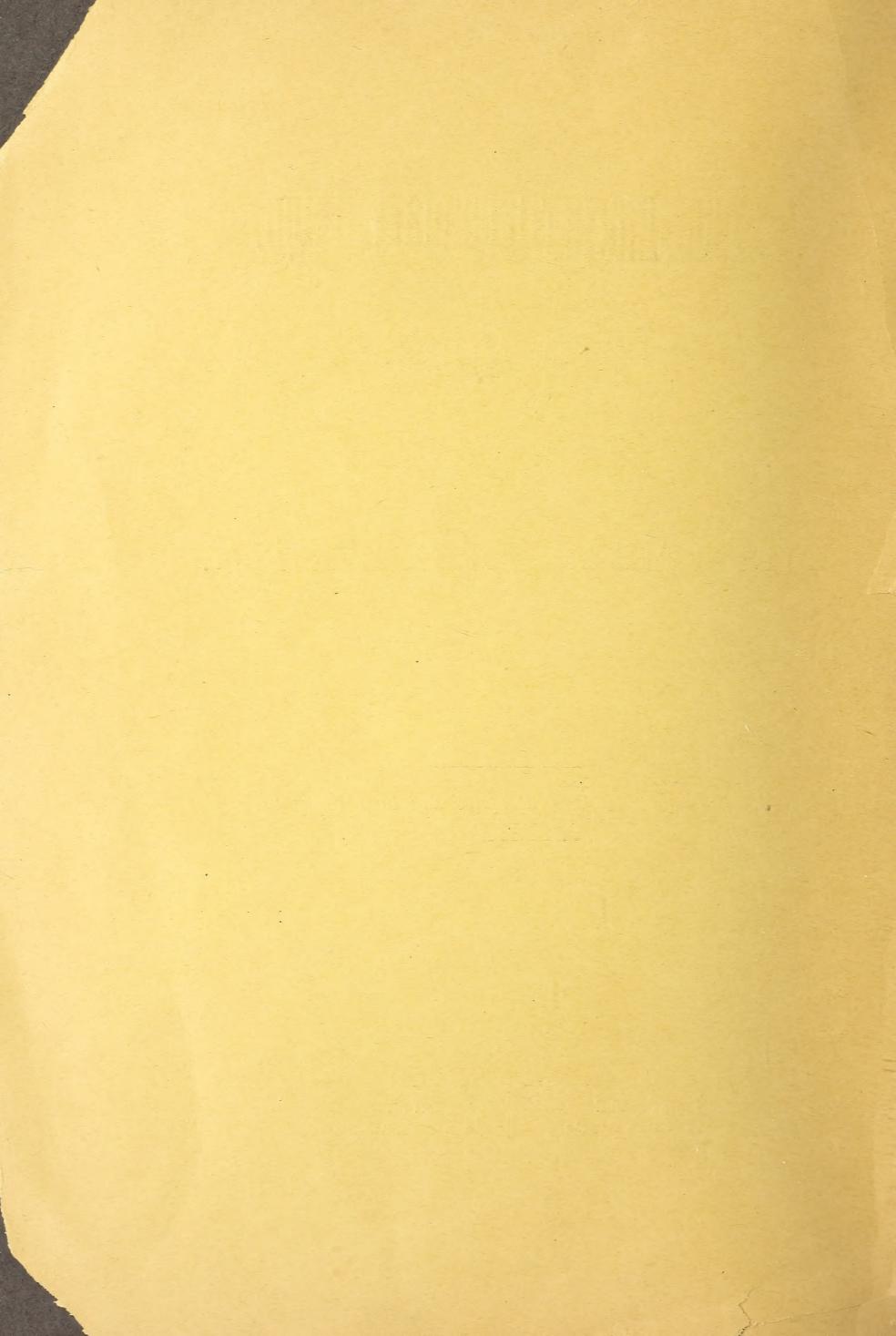
1910

#### MISCH & THRON

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Constitution of the consti

The plan of bringing together members of the different national Parliaments with a view to work in the cause of international peace and solidarity, dates only from the latter half of the 19th century. It is true that, already between 1830 and 1840, English and American friends of peace had discussed the creation of a « Congress of Nations ». But this « American Plan », as it was styled, had a different bearing. It aimed at the constitution of a periodical diplomatic congress. Official delegates of the Governments should be entrusted with the task of elaborating the international legislation which is the necessary condition for the working of an International Court.

This plan has found a late, and as yet incomplete realisation in the institution of the « International Peace Conferences », which have met at the Hague in 1899 and in 1907.

Quite different was the plan of creating a cooperation in the service of the work of peace and arbitration among the parliamentarians of different countries. It was both more modest and more ambitious. More modest, because it only had in view a private, or at most a semi-official work. More ambitious, because parliamentary action has a wider scope and finds a stronger echo than the governmental one. The parliamentarians are placed between the electors and the executive; they can act in two directions; form public opinion and push the Governments in the direction they desire.

The plan of founding an Interparliamentary Union seems to have been formed for the first time towards 1870. It was the Franco-German War which called forth the idea in the mind of an Austrian Deputy, the Baron of Walterskirchen.

Shortly afterwards, in 1872, the Alabama arbitration between the United States of America and Great Britain, caused a general movement in the parliamentary world in favour of permanent treaties of arbitration, or at least of the introduction of the arbitration clause in treaties of commerce. The movement began in the British House of Commons, where, in 1873, Mr Henry Richard, the well-known secretary of the Peace Society introduced the first motion of the kind. It found a somewhat reserved, but sympathetic reception from Mr Gladstone, then Premier, and it was carried by the House. During the following years similar motions were discussed by the American Congress, and by several European Parliaments, namely by the Italian, the Dutch, the Danish, the Swedish and the Belgian.

These discussions again awoke, and in the minds of different personalities, the plan of a parliamentary cooperation in favour of international arbitration and peace. The plan was even discussed at the International Peace Congress which met in Paris during the World's Fair in 1878.

But these plans and discussions had no practical consequences. The origin of the Interparliamentary Union is not to be sought there.

# FOUNDATION OF THE UNION. WILLIAM RANDAL CREMER AND FRÉDÉRIC PASSY.

The foundation of the Interparliamentary Union is due to the persevering energy of William Randal Cremer, member of the House of Commons, and to the active and interested cooperation of the French Deputy, Frédéric Passy.

Randal Cremer started life in the most humble conditions. At first a carpenter, he later became secretary and leader of his Trade Union, then editor. In 1885, at fifty-seven, he was returned Member of Parliament. Cremer had the great gift of concentration. He had founded in 1871 the Workmen's Peace Society, which became later «The International Arbitration League». His favourite idea was to have concluded an arbitration treaty between the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. He desired in this to follow the line of least resistance. The example of the

two sister nations, he imagined, would be followed by the other peoples. In 1887 he had obtained the signature of 234 members of the House of Commons and of the leaders of Trade Unionism to an address in favour of an arbitration treaty between the two powers. He himself crossed the Atlantic at the head of a British delegation in order to present this address to the American Congress.

The plan of an Anglo-American arbitration treaty failed. But out of this effort the Interparliamentary Union was born.

Cremer had seen that Frédéric Passy, leader of the Free Trade party in France, had voiced the cause of arbitration from the floor of the French Chamber. In 1888, he opened communications with him. Frédéric Passy is still to-day the veteran among the active friends of peace. Of high scientific culture, he is especially at home in economic questions. His horizon is larger than was that of his English colleague. An accomplished master of the word and of the pen he is able to influence circles which could not be attained by Cremer. The two men completed each other, and they were equals in their belief in the ideal, in their unshakable optimism.

The cooperation of Frédéric Passy assured the support of French parliamentarians to the work which was to begin and to the organisation already anticipated by Cremer.

A preparatory meeting took place in Paris, in one of the rooms of the Grand Hotel, on the 31st of October 1888. It was not very imposing: nine British and twenty-five French parliamentarians were present. The task was strictly limited: to support the efforts of the last years in favour of arbitration treaties between the United States, France and Great Britain.

One of the resolutions voted, however, has a larger scope: «Another meeting to which shall be admitted, not only members of the three Parliaments named above (sc : American, British and French), but also the members of other Parliaments, who have made themselves known by their devotion to the same ideas, shall take place next year, in order to complete the work begun at this first conference. »

Out of this resolution the Interparliamentary Union was born.

The first Interparliamentary Conference properly speaking, took place in Paris in the following year, during the World's Exhibition, on June 29 and 30, 1889. This meeting had really an international character: Ninety-six parliamentarians were present, fifty-five Frenchmen, thirty British, five Italians and one representative of each of the following countries: Belgium, Denmark, Hungary, Liberia, Spain, the United States. The Conference was opened by Jules Simon and presided over by Frédéric Passy.

This meeting opened the series of successive interparliamentary conferences. In one of its resolutions it gave the fundamental reason of the interparliamentary institution. «The conduct of the Government tending to become more and more the expression only of ideas and sentiments voiced by the body of citizens, it is for the electors to lead the policy of their country in the direction of justice, of right

and of the brotherhood of nations. »

In the resolution which follows, it anticipates the continuation of the work begun : « New interparliamentary meetings shall be held each year in one of the capitals of the countries represented at the Conference, the next meeting to take place in London.»

The following saying is attributed to Mr Herbert Gladstone: « In a few years the foundation day of the Interparliamentary Union will be considered as a historic day ».

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNION.

Up till the present time (1910) the members of the Union have met fifteen times in conference: twice in Paris (1889) and 1900), twice in London (1890 and 1906) three times at Brussels (1895, 1897 and 1905), once in each of the following European capitals: Rome (1891), Berne (1892), the Hague (1894), Budapest (1896). Christiania (1899), Vienna (1903), Berlin (1908). Once the interparliamentarians have crossed the Atlantic to meet on American soil, at Saint-Louis, in In 1910, they will again meet at Brussels.

The conferences at first met in private rooms; in 1892, at Berne, they entered the Parliament building. In 1899, at Christiania, 'the head of a government first greeted them in the name of his country. Later the chief magistrates, and even the sovereigns themselves have lavished attention and hospitality on them. This growth in reputation has its parallel in the constant growth of attention paid to the Conferences by the press and by public opinion. At first met with contemptuous smiles, the interparliamentary conferences are now considered and spoken of as important international events.

Several times they have had the character of great demonstrations in favour of international peace and goodwill, and the impression created on the public mind has often had an importance equal to that of the debates and the resolutions passed.

\* \*

In the following passages, we give verbatim some parts of the speeches delivered at the Conferences by contemporary statesmen, in order to show their opinion about the Union.

M. Fallières, now President of the French Republic, who took the chair at the Paris Conference in 1900, then said in his opening speech:

« You can measure by the sympathy with which you are met the degree of interest which attaches to your history. It is short, no doubt; but how well it is filled! Hardly ten years have passed since you gathered in one bundle, which hereafter it will prove impossible to dissolve, those generous efforts, which till then were disseminated all over the civilized world, and therefore without any discernible results. Ten years in the lives of peoples, it is much less than the flying second devoured by time; but this second, does it not suffice for the seed to touch the ground, there to deposit the germs of the coming harvest?

» If we are not fortunate enough to reap this harvest ourselves, why should we dismiss the thought, that one day our children may enjoy it?

»Thanks to you, we are already far from the time when arbitration was considered as an intellectual pastime or a

utopia condemned by what one is wont to call the «wisdom of nations», whenever an unjustifiable opposition is set up. To-day, you have to bow to evidence. Attempts which have succeeded are there to prove that it is with peoples as with individuals, and that for the former as for the latter, there is no resistance which can in the long run stay the omnipotence of an idea, when this idea derives its force from the holy source of fraternity. »

In 1904, Mr Roosevelt, then President of the United States of America, delivered a speech, to which we refer later on, before the members of the Saint-Louis Conference, assembled at Washington. He said:

« It is a matter of gratification to all Americans that we have had the honor of receiving you here as the nation's guests. You are men skilled in the practical work of government in your several countries; and this fact adds weight to your championship of the cause of international justice...

» It would be visionary to expect a too immediate success for the great cause you are championing, but very substantial progress can be made if we strive with resolution and good sense toward the goal of securing among the nations of the earth as among the individuals of each nation, a just sense of responsibility in each toward others. The right and the responsibility must go hand in hand. Our efforts must be unceasing, both to secure in each nation full acknowledgment of the rights of others and to bring about in each nation an ever growing sense of its own responsibilities. »

In 1906, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Prime Minister of Great Britain, greeted the London Conference in a remarkable speech, in the course of which he said:

"The majority of you have not come here — and I think you will wish this to be understood — as the accredited delegates of your respective Parliaments. This gathering is unofficial. But you are here, if I read the times aright, in the fullest sense as the accredited Representatives of your fellow countrymen and women, and in this capacity you are entitled to express, with an authority attaching to no

other assembly in the world, the conscience, the reasons, and the sentiments of a large and not the least influential portion of the human race. In addressing you I feel that I am not so much speaking to the Representatives of divers States of Europe and America, as to the exponents of principles and hopes that are common to us all, and without which our life on earth would be a life without horizon or prospect.

» With the purpose of your mission, let me say at once, His Majesty's Government desire unreservedly to associate themselves. It is their hope that your deliberations will do much to promote a closer understanding between the nations.

» You have indeed done much since the new century began, to give shape and substance to the growing, the insistent desire that war may be banished from the earth. »

Finally, Prince Buelow, Chancellor of the German Empire, expressed himself to the following effect, in the speech he delivered for the German Government to the Berlin Conference in 1908:

« It is the first time the Interparliamentary Union meets on German soil; but you are not unknown to us. In common with the civilized world Germany knows how to appreciate the services rendered by you to a noble cause. Looking at this illustrious gathering, I find all the ages represented in it; and that appears to me quite natural; for in your work you reconcile the fire of youth with the experience of a maturer age. Thus you fight against the hesitations and difficulties which oppose themselves to all good work. Thus you have reached results expected by very few at the outset.

» Led by most distinguished men — I only name your verteran, M. Frédéric Passy, whom we have the great pleasure to see amongst us, M. Passy, whom I remember to have seen in Paris nearly thirty years ago, and whom we see here again, as generous, as ardent, as young as in the past — led by such men, you have continued your work, which is to obtain guarantees for peace and goodwill among the nations.

» Difficult work, — hard work, so many passions, so many prejudices oppose themselves to it, but also beneficial work.

I can say it without exaggeration: from year to year your success has been more and more pronounced... As a constitutional Minister I know that, as representatives of the people, you voice the sentiments of your fellow citizens. Whatever may be said, their desires are in majority favourable to concord, to progress, to peace, that is: they are in harmony with your aspirations. As to the Governments, I hope you will render them this justice that they have met your desires by concluding international conventions. They have consulted your wishes by studying all the questions which to them appeared ripe. If the Governments are resolved to follow this course in future as in the past, it is in part your merit, Gentlemen. The Governments are at one with each other, at one with you as to the goal to be attained. The divergence is as to the means to be employed to attain this goal, as well as possible and as safely as possible...

» I wish to say another word which to me seems necessary; for some have tried to give to your work a character which does not belong to it; some have tried to impute to you, Gentlemen, intentions which are not yours. Love of peace does not signify absence of patriotism. Those are patriots who try to prevent conflicts by fighting ignorance, always mischievous, prejudices, so unwholesome, hate, so often blind, ambitions, sometimes deceitful. Acting thus you act as patriots, as those patriots who clear the roads, who remove the obstacles, and who thus renders freer and easier the march of humanity towards the ideal common to all ages, to all nations. »



During the first years the Union had no permanent organization. The Conferences invited their members to form "Interparliamentary Committees" in each country. There is the origin of the present groups. At the Rome Conference, in 1891, the foundation of a Central Office was discussed, and the creation of a provisional secretariat was decided upon. A definitive organisation was only instituted by the Berne Conference, in 1892. It founded the Interparliamentary Bureau, which should serve as Central

Office of the Union. The administration belonged to the Swiss member of the Committee.

For the next seventeen years, up till the 1st of July 1909, Dr Albert Gobat, member of the Swiss National Council and member of the Government of Canton Berne, directed this bureau besides fulfilling his other numerous and important functions — a sacrifice of time, of force and of interest, for which the Interparliamentary Union will never be able to thank him sufficiently. During four years he published a monthly organ: « La Conférence interparlementaire », whose task was to awake and to keep alive interest in and devotion to the common work. It is chiefly in this remarkable publication that useful information may be found regarding the first eight years of the Union.

The attendance at the Conferences has gradually become more and more numerous, and the groups can count a steadily growing number of members. In some Parliaments all the deputies have entered them. Groups have been formed in nearly all the European states. Quite recently groups have been created in the Russian Duma, in the Ottoman Parliament, and in the Servian Skuptchina. Some members of the American Congress had attended individually at some Conferences up till 1904. In this year an American group was formed. It showed considerable energy by organizing immediately the Saint-Louis Conference.

#### WORK OF THE UNION.

The Interparliamentary Union, at its conferences, has discussed quite a number of questions relating to the progressive evolution and organization of the Society of Nations. The Conferences have passed resolutions regarding neutrality and regarding war. Several times they have declared in favour of the immunity of private property at sea during war. Two Conferences have adopted a vœu in favour of the elaboration of a Code of International Law. Some of them have discussed the problem of the growth of armaments.

The Union has always limited itself to the discussion of problems of International Law; it has never discussed economic questions, and it has even expressly refused to pronounce itself on actual political questions.

The Union at first called itself « The Interparliamentary Conference (1) for International Arbitration ». When first it expressly formulated its object, in 1892 at Berne, it thus expressed itself:

The Interparliamentary Conference for International Arbitration is the organ of groups of members of Parliaments constituted or to be constituted with a view to obtain recognition in their states, either by the general way of legislation, or by particular international treaties, of this principle that conflicts between states should be submitted to an arbitration tribunal in order to be definitively settled, as well as to treat other international questions of general interest, pertinent to the idea of arbitration. »

As the field of action of the Union extended, its name seemed too narrow, and the dispositions of the statutes have also been somewhat altered. It is, however, in the extension of the practice of arbitration that the Union has always seen its principal object. And if this practice, and in general, the practice of resolving peacefully international conflicts has made progress during the last twenty years, one cannot but recognise the decisive influence of the Union in this respect. The numerous points of contact created between the statesmen of different countries have no doubt contributed towards the evolution of a policy of peace in Europe.

We restrict ourselves to demonstrating the influence of the Union on three points of capital importance: first the constitution of the Permanent Court of Arbitration by the first Hague Conference; secondly, the convening of the second Hague Conference; thirdly, the framing of the model arbitration treaty, which served as base to the discussions of the latter Conference on this subject.

<sup>(1)</sup> In 1899 it adopted the name of the «Interparliamentary Union».

#### THE PERMANENT COURT OF ARBITRATION.

The two first Interparliamentary Conferences had only treated one side of the problem of arbitration, namely the conclusion of treaties stipulating the obligation for the states to submit conflicts to arbitration.

The Rome Conference, in 1891, tackled another side of the problem: it invited the Interparliamentary Committees to put on the agenda of the following Conference the institution of an Arbitration Court. This would mean important progress in two respects: from a practical standpoint, the recourse to arbitration would be facilitated, if it were not necessary to organize the tribunal while the conflict was still exasperating the minds on both sides, and from a theoretical standpoint the existence of such a Court would show the state of progress of the society of nations. Indeed, it is only by the permanent existence of a jurisdiction, resting on law, that a society manifests itself as an organized whole, as a legal or judicial society.

The question occupied the three following conferences. At the Hague, in 1894, the Hon. Philip Stanhope (now Lord Weardale) then a member of the House of Commons, laid a report before the conference on this question. He concluded by proposing to charge a Commission of six members to elaborate and to submit to the following conference a draft for the organization of a Permanent Court of Arbitration. The draft should repose on the following principes:

- 1° National sovereignty remains inalienable and inviolable;
- 2° The adherence of each Government to the constitution of an International Permanent Court should be purely voluntary;
- 3° All adherent states should be on a footing of perfect equality before the International Permanent Court;
- 4° The judgments of the Permanent Court should have the form of an executive sentence.

The Conference adopted the propositions of Mr Stanhope. At the following Conference (Brussels, 1895), M. HOUZEAU DE LEHAIE, Belgian Senator, submitted a report in the

name of the Commission and concluded by recommending a draft Convention in fourteen articles, prefaced by a short statement of reasons. The Conference approved it and instructed its president, Chevalier Descamps, Belgian Senator and Professor of International Law at the University of Louvain, to submit it to the Governments of civilized nations.

Chevalier Descamps accomplished the task entrusted to hien. His « Essai sur l'arbitrage international, Mémoire aux Puissances » sets forth the work of the Interparliamentary Conferences on this subject. It is considered as one of the first works regarding arbitration.

When, four years later, in 1899, the first Peace Conference was convened at the Hague, Chevalier Descamps, who represented Belgium at the Conference, was nominated rapporteur of the third Commission, entrusted with the study of the problems of international arbitration. The great Convention voted by the Conference «For the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes» to a large extent rests on the convention drafted by the Interparliamentary Union. Thus it places all states on the footing of perfect equality with respect to the Arbitration Court\*created by the Convention.

This was a real victory for the ideas championed by the Union. It has even been said that the calling of the Hague Conference itself was due to the interparliamentary movement, especially to the Budapesth Conference in 1896. It is probable that several influences were at work, even of rather different character, to decide the Russian Government to call the Peace Conference.

At any rate, the Conference had the greatest interest for the interparliamentary workers. A number of questions studied by the Union had been discussed at the Hague by responsible and official delegates of the states. Only some of these had been resolved. The Peace Conference showed to the Interparliamentarians what an important task lay before them: to make the great reforms which are to replace the present anarchical state of international relations by a juridical and legal one, ripen in the public mind, and to prepare them for the discussion at the diplomatic conferences.

#### CALLING OF THE SECOND HAGUE CONFERENCE.

And this explains that the Saint-Louis Conference in 1904 took the initiative to solicit the convening of another Peace Conference.

Mr Theodore Burton, member of the American Congress, introduced the question at the Conference. In the resolution voted on his motion, there are three interesting points to be noted. Two subjects are indicated as worthy of discussion at the next conference: 1° The conclusion of arbitration treaties between the states represented at the conference, stipulating their obligation to have recourse to arbitration; 2° the periodicity of the international congresses, which would thus form a legislative institution within the society of nations, alongside of the judiciary created by the first Hague Conference.

Thirdly the resolution ends with a respectful request to the President of the United States of America to take the initiative of calling the conference.

On the 24th of September 1904, M. Gobat, on behalf of the members of the Interparliamentary Conferences, transmitted the resolution to Mr Theodore Roosevelt at the White House in Washington. Mr Roosevelt ended his reply to the address with the following words: « At an early date I shall issue the call for the conference you request ».

This initiative provoked, three years later, the meeting of the second Hague Conference.

#### MODEL ARBITRATION TREATY.

In the mean time the Union was actively occupied with the framing of the programme for this new Conference. This work entirely filled the two general assemblies, of Brussels in 1905, and of London in 1906. On a special point the London Conference voted a draft of an international convention and took a new step forward in the arbitration question, still the chief object of the interests of the Union. Indeed, if the Court instituted by the first Hague Conference should be able to exert all its usefulness, it was necessary that the States engaged themselves to have recourse to arbitration for certain classes of conflicts.

The model arbitration treaty, due to the initiative of Mr Richard Bartholdt, Member of the American Congress, which was voted by the London Conference on the remarkable report submitted, on behalf of a special Commission, by His Exc. Ernest De Plener, late Austrian Minister of Finance, was to play an important part at the Hague Conference of 1907. It was adopted by the Portuguese Delegates and by them submitted to the Arbitration Commission. Around this draft convention were fought the most passionate struggles of the conference. During these debates the draft was limited in certain respects, but considerably extended in others. At first received very coolly, it found successively a more and more numerous following, and at last it united the votes of thirty-two states, out of the forty-four represented at the Hague.

This was not sufficient. The principle of the necessity of a unanimous vote, which is regularly followed in diplomatic conferences, again prevailed, as the minority refused to give way. The Conference passed a unanimous declaration, however, in favour of the principle of obligatory arbitration: « Some conflicts, especially those concerning the interpretation and application of international conventions, are liable to be submitted to obligatory arbitration without any restriction. »

It would be wrong to minimise the great importance of this unanimous declaration. But it does not bind anybody juridically. The Second Hague Conference only instituted the obligatory recourse to arbitration for conflicts regarding the recovery of contract debts, a special point without any connection with the work of the Interparliamentary Union, and on which we shall not dwell here.

#### REORGANISATION OF THE UNION.

The Union could point to a *moral* victory: at the Hague the *majority* had rallied to its standpoint; but it had not found unanimous favour. In order to gain a complete victory it was necessary to redouble the efforts and to concentrate them.

From this standpoint the 15th Interparliamentary Conference should be looked at. It met at Berlin in September 1908.

The Berlin Conference will have a place of its own in the history of the Union. The place where it met, the circumstances which accompanied it, combined to give it quite a special character. It was a most imposing demonstration in favour of the ideas of international peace and solidarity. More than six hundred parliamentarians participated, representatives of eighteen different countries, among them Japan and Russia.

The meeting was of particular importance for the organisation of the Union.

Since the Christiania Conference in 1899, the Union had been led by an Interparliamentary Council, composed of two delegates from each national group (1). This body now got its permanent Chairman, while hitherto a Chairman had been designated for each session. This new dignity has been conferred upon M. Auguste Beernaert, Belgian Minister of State, late Prime Minister and late President of the Chamber of Representatives.

The Chairman is at the same time member and ex officio chairman of a new body, the Executive Committee. The latter is composed of five members, the four being elected by the Conference in a plenary sitting and belonging to different groups. One of them withdraws at each Conference and cannot be reelected till after two years. He is to be replaced by a member belonging to another group.

<sup>(1)</sup> The main attributions of the Council are to call and prepare the interparliamentary conferences, to authorize the acceptance of gift and legacies, to fix the annual budget of receipts and expenditure, to approve the accounts, and to nominate the treasurer and the general secretary of the Union.

This Committee has the control of the *Interparliamentary* Bureau, which has been transferred from Berne to Brussels. The management of the Bureau belongs to a general secretary nominated by the Council (1).

The new organization necessitates considerable expenditure. In order to meet this, the Union has made an appeal to its different groups asking them to assure an annual revenue. Earlier the Union had lived on the individual contributions of members; one state only, Norway, had each year voted an official subvention. At the Berlin Conference, Lord Weardale, one of the principal promoters of the reorganization, announced that the British Government proposed to grant to the Union an annual subsidy of £300.

The examples of Norway and of Great Britain have already been followed by several states, and at present the Union is assured of an annual receipt of some two thousand pounds.

The Union, thus, has entered on a new phase, its relations with the States and the Governments having been consolidated. The latter, by their subventions, have imposed obligations on it. But at the same time they have engaged themselves morally to take into serious consideration the conclusions which the Union may reach in its study of international problems. The Interparliamentary Union, in this way, has become one of the constructive elements in the future organization of the Society of Nations.

The Union has a great task before itself, and in order to accomplish it, it will want the active help of all the goodwill in existence within the different Parliaments of the world.

<sup>(1)</sup> The task of the Bureau is thus defined by the statutes of the Union:

<sup>1°</sup> It keeps the lists of members of the national groups and activates their formation;

<sup>2°</sup> It is the central organ of the groups in all that concerns their reciprocal relations;

<sup>3°</sup> It prepares the questions to be submitted to the Council and to the Conference, and distributes in time all the necessary documents;

<sup>4°</sup> It attends to the execution of the decisions of the Council and of Conferences;

<sup>5°</sup> It keeps the archives and collects the documents concerning international arbitration, as well as other documents regarding the objects of the Union.

For the history of the Union, see especially:

La Conférence interparlementaire, Monthly Review, Berne, July 1<sup>st</sup> 1893 to December 1<sup>st</sup> 1897 (Rare).

Proceedings of the interparliamentary conferences since the Budapesth conference of 1896. (In French.)

Résolutions votées par les Conférences interparlementaires et décisions principales du Conseil interparlementaire, Bruxelles 1905. (A new edition revised and up to date is being prepared and will appear in the autuun of 1910.)



### Authorities of the Interparliamentary Union (1910).

#### INTERPARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL

Germany: Richard Eickhoff, member of the Reichstag and of the Prus-

sian Chamber of Deputies, Remscheid.

D' Hauptmann, Member of the Prussian Chamber of Depu-

ties, Gr.-Lichterfelde.

United States: Richard Bartholdt, House of Representatives, Washington.

Theodore Burton, Senator, Washington.

Austria: S. Ex. E. de Plener, Member of the Herrenhaus, Vienna.

(Vacant).

Belgium: Aug. Beernaert, Minister of State, Brussels, President of

the Council.

Aug. Houzeau de Lehaie, Senator, Mons.

Denmark: Chr. de Krabbe, Deputy, late Minister of Defence, Co-

penhagen.

Fredrik Bajer, late Deputy, Copenhagen.

Frensch: Emile Labiche, Senator, Paris.

Viscount de La Batut, Deputy, Paris.

Great Britain: Lord Weardale, London.

Duncan Pirie, M. P., London.

Greece: K. Mavromichalis, Deputy, Athens.

G. Baltazzi, Deputy, Athens.

Hungary: Count Albert Apponyi, Deputy, Budapesth.

Emile de Nagy, Deputy, Budapesth.

Italy: Count C. A. de Sonnaz, Senator, Rome.

The Marquis C. Compans, Deputy, Rome.

Norway: H. Horst, late Deputy, Kristiania.

J. C. Brandt, late Deputy, Droebak.

Netherland: M. Tydeman, Member of the second Chamber of the States

General, Breda.

Van der Does de Villebois, Member of the first Chamber of

the States General, 's Hertogenbosch.

Portugal:

L. Fisher Berquo Poças Falcao, Member of the Chamber of

Pairs, Lisbon.

João de Paiva, late Deputy, Lisbon.

Roumania:

C.-G. Dissescu, Senator, Bucarest.

Alex. Constantinescu, Deputy, Bucarest.

Sweden:

Ernest Beckman, Deputy, Djursholm, near Stockholm.

Ed. Wavrinsky, Deputy, Stockholm.

Switzerland:

Albert Gobat, national Councillor, Berne.

Scherrer-Fullemann, national Councillor, St-Gall.

Members ex officio (1): Frédéric Passy, late deputy, Member of the Institute of France, Neuilly-sur-Seine, President of the first interparliamentary conference.

E.-N. Rahusen, Member of the first Chamber of the States General, Amsterdam, President of the fifth interparliamentary conference.

Baron Descamps-David, Minister, Brussels, President of the sixth interparliamentary conference.

John Lund, late deputy, Bergen, President of the ninth interparliamentary conference.

Armand Fallières, President of the French Republic, Paris, President of the tenth interparliamentary conference.

The Prince of Schönaich-Carolath, Member of the Reichstag, President of the fifteenth interparliamentary conference.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

M<sup>r</sup> Auguste Beernaert (Belgium), President.

Mr Ernest Beckman (Sweden).

Mr Emile Labiche (France).

M<sup>r</sup> M. Tydeman (Netherlands).

Lord Weardale (Great Britain).

#### Treasurer of the Union:

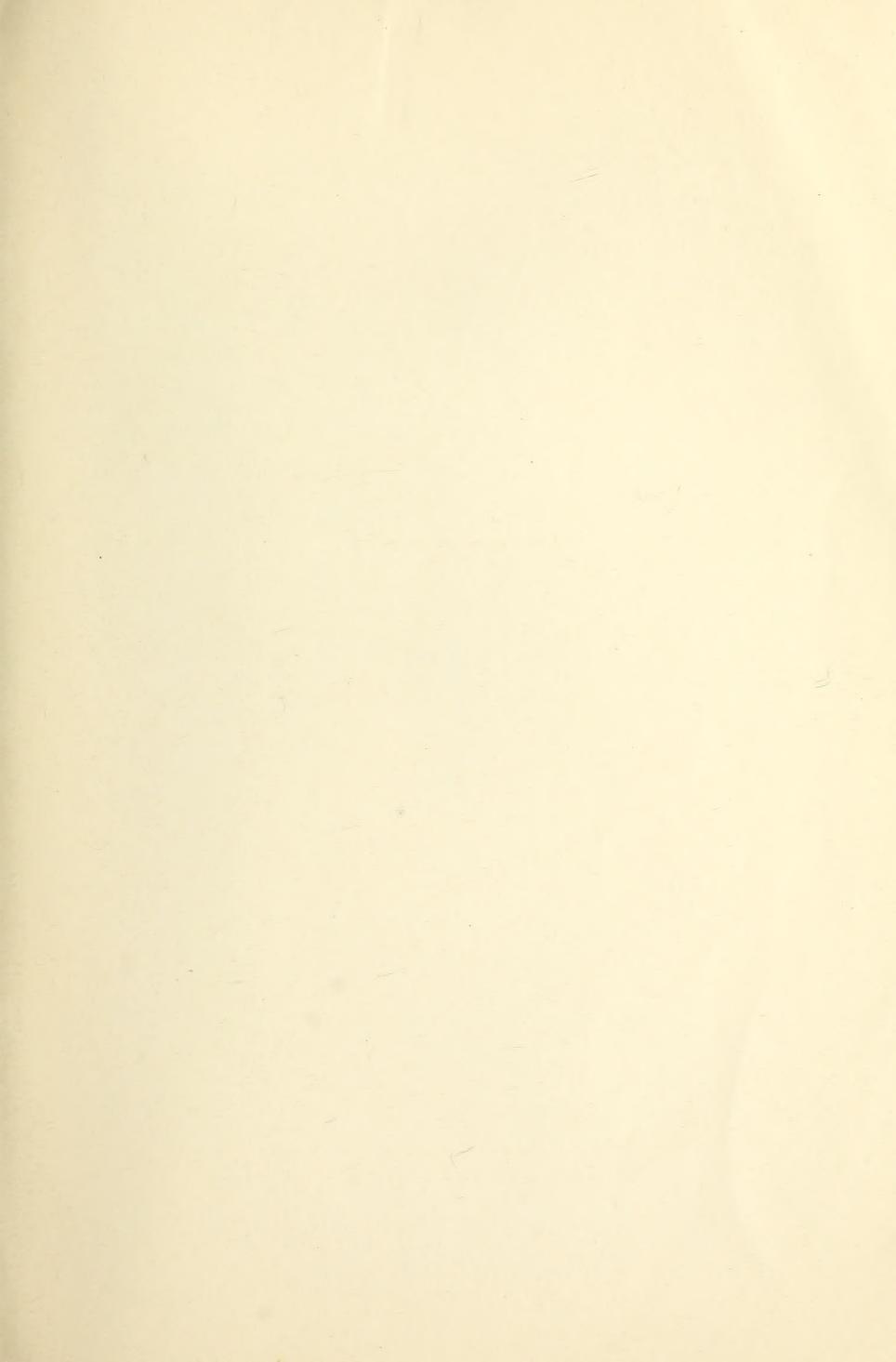
M. Houzeau de Lehaie, Belgian Senator, Mons-Ermitage, Belgium.

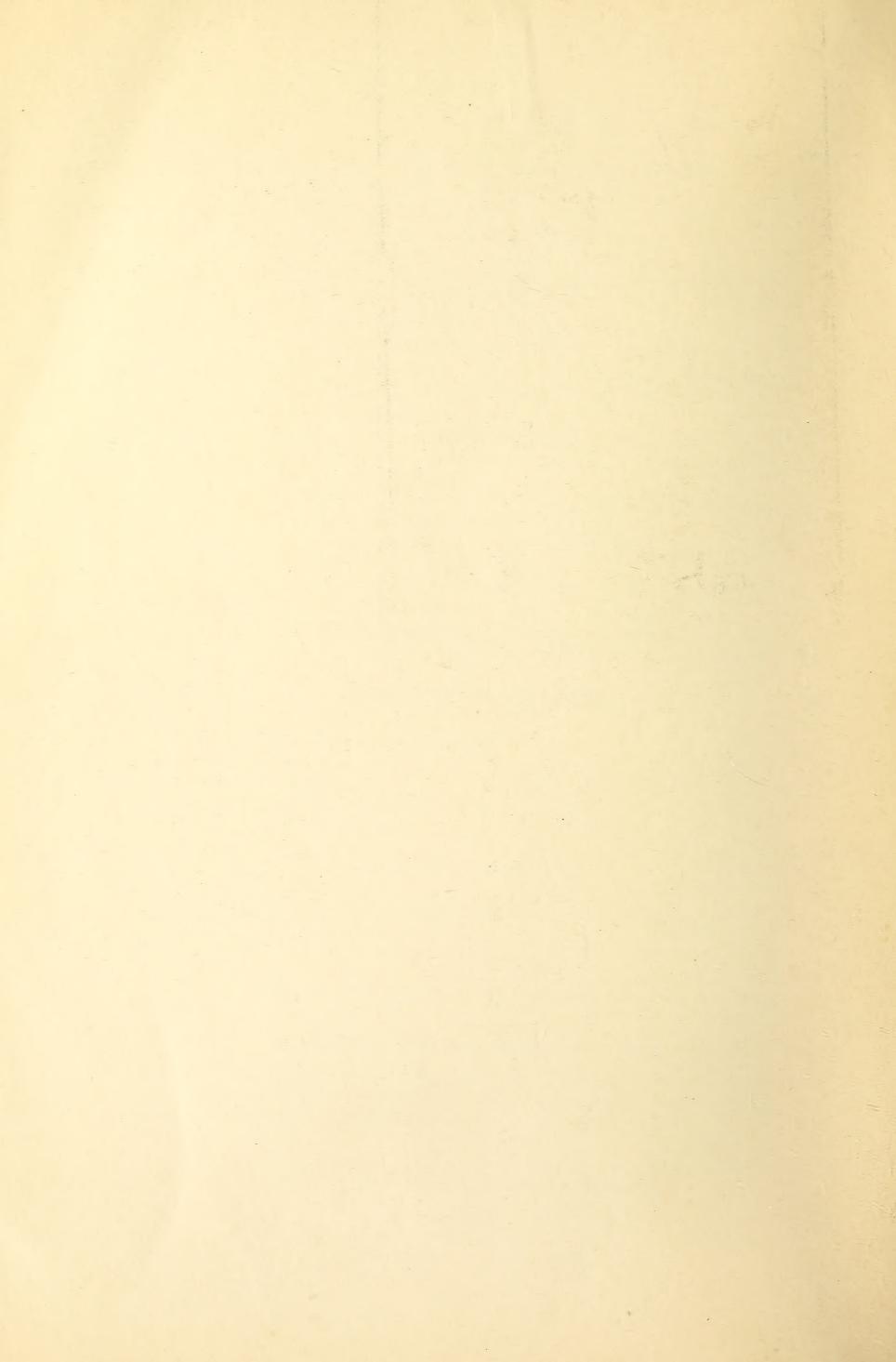
#### General Secretary.

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<sup>(1)</sup> The late presidents of the respective conferences are members ex officio of the Council, if they are not delegates of their groups.







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